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sation with some emigrants. Three families which chance had brought together, their first meeting being on the banks of the stream, had purchased a boat of rude construction to float them to the place of their destination, "*the Miami country*." Of these families one was from Cape Cod, one from Middleburgh in Vermont, and one from Troy in New-York; in the three families were twenty one children, of all ages, from infancy to manhood. The men were calm and resolute in their purpose, the women generally repining, and apprehensive, regretting what they had left, and uneasy at the uncertainty of the future. The mania for emigrations, is an epidemick that prevails occasionally with considerable violence; the natural surplus of our population may usefully seek for new territories, but in numerous instances the rash removals of many have proved only a sad delusion. They often leave a good and healthy situation for an inferior and unhealthy one; and the restless and discontented find, that in migrating from the Eastern to the Western States, from this side of the mountains to the other, that they have only changed their sky, and not their disposition. They know when they have descended the western rivers hundreds of miles, that *facilis descensus est*, but in their situation, that *revocare gradum*, is nearly impossible.

We take our leave of Dr. Drake, in recommending his work to all those who wish to obtain information about the Western country.



*Historical Memoir of the war in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15—with an atlas. By Major A. Lacarriere Latour, principal Engineer in late the Seventh Military District United States' Army. Written originally in French, and translated for the author, by H. P. Nugent, Esq. Philadelphia: Published by John Conrad and Co. 1816. 8vo. pp. 454.*

Bis Tusei Rutulos egere ad castra reversos,  
 Bis rejecti armis respectant terga tegentes.  
 Turbati fugiunt Rutuli—  
 Disjectique duces, desolatique manipuli,  
 Tuta petunt. —————

VIRG.

The late war has given rise to endless discussions. Whether it was glorious or disgraceful, whether it was ad-

vantageous or ruinous, are questions that have been warmly and elaborately argued in speeches and essays, and opposite conclusions, drawn by different reasoners. Whenever the debate on this subject is carried on, Federalism or Democracy, being *obligato*, to borrow a musical term, this diversity of opinion must always result; whenever it is considered without the trammels of party, there is no difficulty in arriving at the indisputable fact, that the war was disgraceful to the administration, and glorious to the nation.

In using the term Administration, we do not confine ourselves to the mere Executive officers of the government: whenever the secret anecdotes of the times are known, it will probably be found, that the majority of these were opposed to engaging in the war; but whether they led, or were driven, is of no consequence as to the result; in speaking of the Administration, we include the majority of both Houses of Congress, who made the declaration. The war was disgraceful to the Administration under this comprehensive view, in being declared utterly without preparation or foresight, in taking some of the important interests of the country completely by surprise, in rashly exposing the frontiers to all the ravages of the enemy, and meanly shrinking before the idle breath of popularity, by refusing to impose taxes of the most urgent necessity; in destroying the confidence of capitalists, by the destruction of the National Bank, and in a series of measures, that would inevitably plunge the finances of the country into fatal confusion; in the proclamation of doubtful rights,\* every one of which they abandoned; in the plan of a campaign absurd in the extreme; in directing all their efforts to the conquest of Canada, in which success would have been injurious to ourselves, and unimportant to the enemy; in pursuing a line of conduct, which was intended to crush and annihilate a most powerful party in the nation, instead of endeavouring to conciliate and unite them in the hour of peril.

\* We allude particularly to the subject of *impressment*; this abuse, the very idea of which is insupportable, is now involved in doubt by our process of naturalization, and it is one of the greatest evils attending the impolitick and mischievous facility of our laws on the subject. If the question regarded only the protection of our own proper citizens, is there a man who would not wage a war of extermination rather than endure, that they should be forced by violence into the service of a foreign State?

The arrogance of this course was only equalled by its impolicy, and was pursued with eagerness, cruel and unrelenting. The manner in which parties are composed in the Eastern States, is perfectly well understood there, and no statesman, in any other part of the country, ought to be uninformed on the subject. The democrattick party in Massachusetts, followed a plan of proceedings so monstrous and unprincipled, that the publick were astonished at it, even in them; they attempted to perpetuate power in their own hands, by mutilating the political map of the state, and the new-fangled districts gave rise to the name of a monster, which will be long remembered; they sought with as much ignorance as profligacy, to command all the wealth of the state, by a scheme of refusing the renewal of the Bank charters just then expiring, while they proposed a bank of their own on a large scale, in which, for the first time, the condition of subscription was party conformity, and it was openly, unblushingly limited to the adherents of their own faction. To confirm *this* party, which possessed nothing but numbers, thousands of which would drop from its branches in the first frost of adversity—the administration directed all their efforts. The wealth, the talents, the services of the Federalists availed them nothing. The hour of national danger was selected for their final proscription. So far from being called, with a spirit of magnanimity, in the time of trial, to share in the councils of their country, in the welfare of which their stake was so immense; even the father, who had shed his blood to establish its independence, could not obtain a subaltern commission for his son to march to its defence.

Thus devoted to destruction, it is not surprising that the Federal party resorted to every expedient in their power, for self defence; we do not pretend to say, that all their steps were politick or justifiable; but some allowance must be made for the circumstances in which they were placed. In one of the grand districts of the United States, a majority in number, possessing a vast proportion of the property and talent existing in the community, saw themselves exposed without any defence, by the general government, to the incursions of the enemy; while all the measures, all the patronage, all the intrigues of the Administration, were directed to humble and crush them, to drive them from their influence in the State governments, and elevate in their

places, a minority, whose tried servility would leave them satisfied with the profits of office, without the slightest influence in the national councils. Is it astonishing, that thus harrassed within and without, not knowing which to dread the most, a foreign enemy or their own government, since both seemed bent on their destruction—is it astonishing, we ask, that they should have sometimes passed the ordinary bounds of opposition? What shall be said of an Administration, who could thus alienate a large portion of the community, whose monied wealth, condensed population, and active resources, were of so much importance; of an Administration, who, in rancorous pursuit of the paltry objects of party, were willing to place the very existence of the nation in jeopardy?

Thus doomed to struggle for the preservation of their essential rights and natural standing in their own states; they were still further discouraged at the universal mismanagement of a war, the great purpose of which, appeared to be their ruin. The finances approaching to the verge of bankruptcy, the frontiers abandoned to the ravages of the enemy, and the main efforts of the Administration directed to the useless conquest of Canada. Their resources diminishing, their institutions palsied, their population forced to emigrate, harrassed by the enemy, and persecuted by their own government, their prospects for themselves personally, and for their country, were equally gloomy: and the only smile they could give, was one of bitter derision, at the ludicrous wailings of foreign vagrants, who hardly landed on their shores, were, for a daily stipend, deploring their degradation from the character of their ancestors, and their want of national feeling!

Without going into detail on this painful subject, let us turn to Lake Ontario, for one scene of mismanagement. By the plan of their campaign, it was necessary to obtain command on this lake; from gunboats, they proceeded to frigates, from frigates to ships of the line; a fleet was thus created, which was unserviceable so long as it remained inferior, and the moment it attained the superiority, was for ever after useless. To man and arm this fleet, the ships of the line in our seaports were dismantled, or to speak more correctly, left unfitted—Yet, if instead of equipping ships of the line on Lake Ontario, they had been launched in the

seaports,\* and in addition to those we already possessed there, sent on the ocean, where only we could seriously annoy the enemy, more would have been done for the conquest of Canada, in one year, than would have ever been effected in the course pursued. The American navy had fully shewn its character, and of what materials it was composed—they were more justly to be dreaded than the cumbersome fleets of France and Spain; one Spartan battalion was more dangerous than a Persian army—With five ships of the line and our few frigates, divided into two or three squadrons, we might have scoured every sea. The utmost alarm and distress would have pervaded the commercial interests of England—As it was, their numerous convoys were safe under the protection of single ships of the line: if our ships had been at sea, every convoy must have had its guards doubled, or been exposed to destruction: squadrons, also, must have been sent in pursuit of the hostile ships, and the British navy, large as it is, would not have sufficed for these purposes; they must either have left their commerce unprotected, or abandoned the blockade of our coasts. The consequences are obvious, in the one case some animation would have been given to our own commerce; in the other, the British merchants would have been thrown into consternation. The nation was able to bear the enormous burthens of taxation, while it procured them a monopoly of commerce; but if the insecurity of their commercial fleets had been added to these burthens, convulsions would have followed.

In the mean time the State of Massachusetts was denounced, for suffering the enemy to hold possession of Castine. This place is on a small peninsula, with high and commanding ground, at the mouth of the Penobscot. The British dug a canal across the neck, and thus converted it into an Island, the approach to which was completely enfiladed by ships of war on both sides, and heavy batteries opposed the assailants in front. It was provided with a

\* Some idea of the relish for this service by those employed in it, may be formed from the following anecdotes:—An officer going down to one of the cities on the sea-coast, asked another if he had any commissions?—*only to send him a bottle of salt water.* A number of seamen, drafted from the lakes to serve on board the *Independence*, when they came along side of the ship, jumped over, half a dozen of them, and were swimming about. The officer in charge, with surprise, inquired what was the matter—*O sir, we don't mean to disgrace that ship, we are not fit to go on board of her, till we have washed off the d——d fresh water.*

sufficient garrison, who could always receive supplies by sea. The country adjoining was thinly peopled. If it had been attacked by as large an army, as that which assaulted the lines of New-Orleans, and the regular troops within had done their duty, as well as the militia in those lines did theirs, the result would probably have been the same ; yet every artifice was made use of, to throw an odium on the government of Massachusetts for not retaking this position. The people who were loudest in their clamour, lived on the shores of a Bay in which there was an island, quite as easy of attack as this of Castine ; where the enemy calmly formed a depot for plunder, for the training of runaway slaves, and for building boats for the future expedition to the Mississippi. They were in the heart of a numerous population, near the seat of Government—and quite as unmolested as the garrison of Guernsey.—Besides, the State of Massachusetts had expended 800,000 dollars in specie, for the defence of her territory, her citizens had volunteered to erect various fortifications with the greatest activity and cheerfulness ; her capital was almost converted into a garrison town, and yet the expenses she incurred are still, by a despicable quibble, unliquidated ; though Virginia, and other states in the same situation, have been reimbursed. Such is the protection, such the generosity and justice, which this proscribed state has received from the national government.

In thus recalling the blunders of our administration, it is some consolation, that the enemy, if possible, committed still greater. The ravages and buccaneering spirit with which they carried on the war in the Southern states, the plunder of Alexandria, the destruction of Washington, an act without a parallel in modern warfare ; the letter of Admiral Cochrane, openly avowing the intention to ravage and destroy every spot that was defenceless and unprotected, were all acts which made them at once odious and despised. But their fatal error was in the continuance of the war. When they found themselves unexpectedly relieved from the long contest in Europe, and that the United States were the only enemy who remained, they should then have offered peace. This would have appeared the greatest magnanimity on their part, thus to wave the opportunity of overwhelming us ; the capture of the frigates would have been forgotten, and we should have escaped from a luckless war, with all the disgrace of our first defeats by land, and in the

opinion of the world and perhaps our own, should have thought we owed our escape to the clemency of a generous and powerful foe. Fortunately, a spirit of revenge, and blind arrogance led them a different course. Chastisement was the most lenient threat uttered; conquest and destruction were contemplated. The "invincibles" from the Peninsula, all the disposable forces both sea and land, were directed to these devoted shores, which they were to overrun, and particular parts were to be retained as permanent acquisitions.\* They came, and were covered with confusion and disgrace. Our navy maintained its reputation; our army acquired one. Wherever they appeared they were defeated, except in the instance, where they were opposed by the administration "in person." The gallant conflicts in Canada, the repulse at Baltimore, the overthrow on Lake Champlain, the retreat from Plattsburg, where an army of veteran troops retired before a handful of militia and regulars, the destructive defeat at New-Orleans, were the consequences of continuing the war. Every where the invader met defiance from the gallant spirit of our citizens; death, captivity or flight, were the only alternatives. Thus ended the scheme of vengeance, marked by some of the most memorable defeats recorded in history.

There is fortunately no evil, without something to alleviate its effects. Even war, one of the greatest of all the evils which afflict society, is not wholly without advantages. It is encouraging to reflect, that amid the disasters, the privations, the sufferings, the losses, and the burthens which were occasioned by this war, there were several important advantages resulting from it. It has increased our consideration in the world. The United States, with the exception of the hostilities with France, where the two parties could hardly come in contact, and some wars with the barbarians on the coast of Africa, and those on our frontier, which hardly excited the attention of Europe in the midst of the tremendous wars then raging, had not been tried in warfare, since the struggle by which they acquired independence. Their active and prosperous enterprise, had

\* An eminent Map-seller in London, advised an American gentleman, not knowing him to be such, who applied to him for a map of the United States, to defer the purchase for a few weeks; that he was then keeping all his maps unfinished, as the boundaries would all be changed, and a considerable part of the Union incorporated with the British possessions!



drawn on them the attention of the world, and the belligerent nations encroached on their rights, till at last they thought they possessed none, or at least none, which they would defend. The love of peace was thought to be founded on incapacity for war. The exploits of our navy and army, excited admiration. Their first effort, we may almost say, was not to contend with inferior combatants, but a contest with the victorious gladiator, who alone maintained possession of the arena. The short conflict attracted the attention of the world, and has given us character abroad, "and character is power."

At home, the war has brought back the government to the sound principles of the Federal administration. It has secured the establishment of a navy for defence; it has shewn the necessity of preparation and the policy of providing arsenals and fortifications; it has withered the vile hypocrisy of economy, the vote-gaining, gun-boat, dry-dock economy; and has shewn, that true economy consists in a wise expenditure. It has taught us greater respect for ourselves. France and England, in disturbing Europe to its foundations, had drawn all the attention of the world toward them. We were deeply affected by our various sympathies towards these nations; and having been so long spectators, we hardly thought we could be actors on the same scene. The glare of their exploits was dazzling to our peaceful sight. For obvious, natural reasons, a good deal of this admiration was felt for the English. We met, and the consequence is, a juster appreciation of each other. Even the specimens of their officers whom we saw after the peace, had a useful effect, though sometimes an amusing one, in dispelling illusion. We wonder at them a little less, and they respect us a little more; peace is therefore much more likely to continue. No one can desire more ardently than ourselves, that it may never again be interrupted.

We have made some of the preceding remarks with reluctance, not wishing to touch on topics that awaken party excitement; but we could not refrain from a few allusions to the manner in which the Federalists have been treated, particularly in the Eastern States. As they possessed the control of the state governments in that section, they were assailed with every weapon of intrigue. The misrepresentations of their conduct have been so widely and industriously spread, that many honest men in other parts of the

the Union, have been offended at it ; not considering that in the position in which they were placed, a tremendous responsibility devolved upon them ; they had not only to supply the deficiency of the National government, in providing for defence against a foreign foe, but to guard against the violations of the Constitution, by the encroachments of that administration. Their efforts to preserve the integrity of the State governments, to save the militia from conscription, to make a stand against the mismanagement of the finances, and prevent the whole country from being cursed with the evils of a depreciated currency, will be remembered, and when the passions of the day have subsided, be justly appreciated.

We come now to the work under consideration. The author was the principal engineer in that military division, and an eye witness of the most remarkable events that took place before New-Orleans. The work is divided into two parts, an historical memoir, containing 251 pages, and an appendix of 190 pages, comprising all the documents relating to the campaign. The atlas accompanying the work, has eight maps and plans, of all the military operations that took place in that quarter, at Fort Bowyer, and Fort St. Philip, as well as before New-Orleans. A portrait of General Jackson is given, which, it may be presumed, has the merit of resemblance, since it has no other, and is really too mean a specimen of art, to accompany a volume so respectable. In the preface, the author gives some short account of the political causes of the war ; these have been the subject of endless discussion, and we have no desire to advert to them, but if we had, his opinion, that the Embargo was a wise measure, and that its repeal was unfortunate, would be sufficient to make us relinquish it. Perhaps it may look like arrogance, but in this part of the country at least, opinion is decided with regard to that execrable system ; and an argument would no more be held with a person who should approve it, than with one who should deny a demonstration in geometry.

Major Latour commences, by some observations on the notoriety that was given early in the spring, by the British government, and their newspapers, openly talking of the intended expedition to Louisiana : and yet, " that as late as in the month of September, nothing had been done in the way of effectual preparations, to put that country in a state

of defence." The operations in this quarter were commenced, by a small expedition, the naval part under the command of Captain Percy, and the troops under Colonel Nicholls. They landed and took forcible possession of Pensacola, and were aided by the Spaniards in all their proceedings; they collected all the Indians that would resort to their standard, and Colonel Nicholls began his career by a flaming proclamation, truly ludicrous. He then sent an officer to the piratical establishment at Barataria, to enlist the Chief, Lafitte, and his followers in their cause; the most liberal and tempting offers were made them. These people however, shewed that they were not destitute of all principle; they deceived the English by delay, conveyed intelligence of their designs to the Governour at New-Orleans, and offered their services to defend the country. Disappointed in securing their aid, the expedition proceeded to the attack of Fort Bowyer, on Mobile point, confident of success, having loudly boasted to the Spaniards that they would bring them the garrison as prisoners. This brave garrison, commanded by Major Lawrence, was only composed of 130 men, officers included. The force brought against it consisted of two sloops of war, and two brigs, and the number of men on board and on shore amounted to more than 1300. The result was a loss to the besiegers of more than 200 men; the Commodore's ship was so disabled that they set fire to her, and she blew up, and the remaining three vessels, shattered and filled with wounded men, returned to Pensacola. The enemy being thus sheltered in this place, where they were busily occupied in bringing over the Indians to join them, General Jackson formed an expedition of about 4000 men, regulars and militia, to go and dislodge them. He summoned the place, and was refused entrance by the Spanish Governour, and his flag of truce was fired upon; the British soldiers being in the forts where their flag had been hoisted, in conjunction with the Spanish, the day before the American forces appeared. Preparations were immediately made to carry the place; one battery was taken by storm, with slight loss on either side; the Governour then surrendered the place, the English having previously retired on board their ships. The forts below, which commanded the passage, were blown up, and this enabled the ships to put to sea. General Jackson then evacuated the Spanish territory, and marched his

troops back to Mobile and New-Orleans, which he reached himself on the second day of December. The author thus describes the state of things on his arrival.

“The situation of our country at that period, owing to the proximity of the enemy—the number of whose ships of war on our coast was daily increasing—was critical in the extreme: but the unbounded confidence which the nation in general had in the talents of General Jackson, made us all look up to that officer, as a commander destined to lead our troops to victory, and to save our country. It is hardly possible to form an idea of the change which his arrival produced on the minds of the people. Hitherto partial attempts had been made to adopt measures of defence; the legislature had appointed a joint committee of both houses, to concert with the Governour, Commodore Patterson, and the military commandant, such measures as they should deem most expedient; but nothing had been done. There was wanting that concentration of power, so necessary for the success of military operations. The citizens, having very little confidence in their civil or military authorities, for the defence of the country, were filled with distrust and gloomy apprehension. Miserable disputes on account of two different committees of defence; disputes, unfortunately countenanced by the presence and influence of several publick officers, had driven the people to despondency; they complained, and not without cause, that the legislature wasted time, and consumed the money of the State, in idle discussions on empty formalities of election, while all their time, and all the wealth they squandered, might be profitably employed in the defence of the country. Credit was annihilated—already for several months had the banks suspended the payment of their notes; to supply the want of specie, one and three dollar notes had been issued, and dollars had been cut as a substitute for small change. On the banks refusing specie, the monied men had drawn in their funds, which they no longer lent out, without an usurious interest of three or four per cent. per month. Every one was distressed; confidence had ceased; and with it, almost every species of business.

“Our situation seemed desperate. In case of an attack, we could hope to be saved only by a miracle, or by the wisdom and genius of a commander-in-chief. Accordingly, on

his arrival, he was immediately invested with the confidence of the publick, and all hope centered in him. We shall, hereafter, see how amply he merited the confidence which he inspired."

General Jackson reviewed a corps of volunteers the day of his arrival, and immediately proceeded to visit the next day, every post in the neighbourhood, to give orders for adding fortifications, and establishing defensive works and out-posts in every spot where the enemy might be expected; as there was the greatest uncertainty where the landing would be made. Commodore Patterson, commanding the naval force on the station, had received notice, by an anonymous letter from Pensacola, of the arrival of the enemy's fleet on the coast. The author has here occasion to remark, on the gross neglect which had been shewn towards the defence of Louisiana, though he is willing to absolve the Administration from all blame. We were equally neglected in this quarter, but are less disposed to acquit those who had the management of publick affairs, and who were exhausting all their resources in a senseless attack upon Canada, and building ships of the line on Lake Ontario. Had there been twenty-five or thirty gun-boats for the defence of Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain, it is probable that they would have been sufficient, by assuming a station in the narrow passes, to have defeated all attempts at invasion through those Lakes, in which case the enemy must have gone to Florida, and then would never have reached New-Orleans. But in the only district where they could be of real and effective service, there were only five of these disastrous favourites to be found. These were indeed made the most of, and the gallant contest they maintained, is almost a solitary item to be placed to the credit of the gun-boat system, which had well nigh destroyed our navy, after costing the nation several millions of dollars! The command of these gun-boats was entrusted to Lieutenant Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, who was directed to watch the movements of the enemy, and if they advanced in superiour force, to make good his retreat through Lake Borgne, which lake, it must be understood, is a bay of the sea, to the pass of the Rigolets, which communicates between this lake or bay and Lake Pontchartrain. In pursuance of this duty, he sailed to Dauphine Island, and as he discovered the fleet advancing, endeavoured to gain the Rigolets; having been from

the 9th of December to the 13th, on this service, reconnoitring: they on the 13th, were obliged to anchor by Malheureux Island, near the bottom of Lake Borgne, the wind having died away, and the current being strong against them. The water was so shallow that the boats were several inches in the mud, which prevented their making any change of position. In this situation they were attacked on the 14th by forty barges and launches, containing 1200 men—one of the launches had a long brass 12 pounder, the other a long nine—each of the barges a carronade from nine to twenty-four calibre. Our force mounted 25 guns, and contained 182 men. It is needless to say, that after a gallant conflict, the whole were taken by this vast disparity of force, after having six men killed, and thirty-five wounded; among whom were almost all the officers. The loss of the enemy was estimated at upwards of three hundred, with a large proportion of officers, and the commander, Captain Lockyer, received three severe wounds; the official report to Admiral Cochrane, states the loss in killed and wounded, at 94; the truth may, perhaps, be half way between the two accounts. That the official reports are not to be confided in exactly, may be gathered from the following fact among others. There was a sloop rigged boat accompanying the gunboats, which had been constructed originally for a gig, and brought to Lake Borgne on a waggon. Captain Lockyer, in his report, thus narrates her capture: "Observing also, as we approached the flotilla, an armed sloop endeavouring to join them, Captain Roberts, who volunteered to take her with part of his division, succeeded in cutting her off and capturing her, without much opposition." On this Major Latour had made the following note: "This 'armed sloop,' which required a division of barges to capture her, mounted one four pounder, and carried eight men." In making the return of the vessels captured, she is put down "armed sloop, one long six pounder, two twelve pound carronades, with a complement of 20 men."

The loss of the gun-boats, after a contest which added to the reputation of our navy, left no means of watching the movements of the enemy, or ascertaining where the landing would be made. Orders were given for increased vigilance at every post; the people of colour were formed into a battalion; the offer of the Baratarians to volunteer, on condition of a pardon for previous offences, if they conducted

themselves with bravery and fidelity, was accepted. General Jackson, after applying to the Legislature to suspend the act of *habeas corpus*, and finding they were consuming these extreme moments in discussing and committing, "proclaimed martial law, and from that moment his means became more commensurate with the weight of responsibility he had to sustain." The situation of New-Orleans at this period, the 19th of December, is thus described by Major Latour.

"All classes of society were now animated with the most ardent zeal. The young, the old, women, children, all breathed defiance to the enemy, firmly resolved to oppose to the utmost the threatened invasion. General Jackson had electrified all hearts; all were sensible of the approaching danger; but they waited its presence undismayed. They knew that, in a few days, they must come to action with the enemy; yet, calm and unalarmed, they pursued their usual occupations, interrupted only when they tranquilly left their homes to perform military duty at the posts assigned them. It was known that the enemy was on our coast, within a few hours sail of the city, with a presumed force of between nine and ten thousand men; whilst all the forces we had yet to oppose him amounted to no more than one thousand regulars, and from four to five thousand militia.

"These circumstances were publicly known, nor could any one disguise to himself, or to others, the dangers with which we were threatened. Yet, such was the universal confidence, inspired by the activity and decision of the commander-in-chief, added to the detestation in which the enemy was held, and the desire to punish his audacity, should he presume to land, that not a single warehouse or shop was shut, nor were any goods or valuable effects removed from the city. At that period, New-Orleans presented a very affecting picture to the eyes of the patriot, and to all those whose bosoms glow with the feelings of national honour, which raise the mind far above the vulgar apprehension of personal danger. The citizens were preparing for battle as cheerfully as if it had been a party of pleasure, each in his vernacular tongue singing songs of victory. The streets resounded with *Yankee Doodle*, the *Marseilles Hymn*, the *Chant du Depart*, and other martial airs, while those who had been long unaccustomed to military duty, were furbishing their arms and accoutrements. Beauty

applauded valour, and promised with her smiles to reward the toils of the brave. Though inhabiting an open town, not above ten leagues from the enemy, and never till now exposed to war's alarms, the fair sex of New-Orleans were animated with the ardour of their defenders, and with cheerful serenity at the sound of the drum, presented themselves at the windows and balconies, to applaud the troops going through their evolutions, and to encourage their husbands, sons, fathers, and brothers, to protect them from the insults of our ferocious enemies, and prevent a repetition of the horrors of Hampton.

"The several corps of militia were constantly exercising from morning till evening, and at all hours was heard the sound of drums, and of military bands of musick. New-Orleans wore the appearance of a camp; and the greatest cheerfulness and concord prevailed amongst all ranks and conditions of people. All countenances expressed a wish to come to an engagement with the enemy, and announced a foretaste of victory."

At the mouth of Bayou Bienvenu, emptying into Lake Borgne, there was a small village of fishermen, principally Spaniards and Portuguese, who all went over to the enemy, served them as pilots, and rendered them important aid in this way. The description which the author gives of the place of landing, and the nature of the country, contains so much interesting information, independently of its connexion with military operations, that we shall extract it to give the reader an idea of the singular formation of the country.

"The bayou Bienvenu, is unfortunately become so remarkable from the British forces having penetrated through it, into Louisiana, that it deserves a particular description.

"This bayou, formerly called the river St. Francis, under which designation it is laid down in some old maps, is the creek through which run all the waters of a large basin, of a triangular form, about eighty square miles in surface, bounded on the south by the Mississippi, on the west by New-Orleans, by bayou Sauvage or Chef-Menteur on the northwest, and on the east by Lake Borgne, into which it empties. It receives the waters of several other bayous, formed by those of the surrounding cypress swamps and prairies, and of innumerable little streams from the low



grounds along the river. It commences behind the suburb Marigny, at New-Orleans, divides the triangle nearly into two equal parts from the summit to the lake which forms its basis, and runs in a south-easterly direction. It is navigable for vessels of one hundred tons, as far as the forks of the canal of Piernas' plantation, twelve miles from its mouth. Its breadth is from one hundred and ten to one hundred and fifty yards, and it has six feet water on the bar, at common tides, and nine feet at spring tides. Within the bar, there is for a considerable extent, sufficient water for vessels of from two to three hundred tons. Its principal branch is that which is called bayou Mazant, which runs towards the southwest, and receives the waters of the canals of the plantations of Villeré, Lacoste, and Laronde, on which the enemy established his principal encampment. It was at the forks of the canal Villeré and bayou Mazant that the British ascended in their pinnaces, and effected a landing.

“Of the other branches of the bayou Bienvenu, we shall take no particular notice; that called bayou Mazant being the only one connected with the British military movements.

“The level of the great basin, or the bank of the principal bayou, is usually twelve feet below the level of the banks of the Mississippi. The slope is usually one half of that height, or six feet, for the descent of the lands under culture, of from about one half to two-thirds of a mile in depth from the river, and the remaining six feet is the slope of cypress swamps and prairies, which are usually three or four times the depth, or extent of the high-lands susceptible of cultivation; so that one thousand yards, the usual depth of the lands under culture, have a slope of six feet, which gives less than 0,005 of a foot to each yard, whilst the prairies and cypress swamps together, commonly six thousand yards in depth, have but 0,001 of a foot to the yard in slope. The overflowing of the waters of all those bayous and canals, occasioned by the tide of the sea, or by the winds raising the waters in the lake, forms on all their banks deposits of slime, which are continually raising them above the rest of the soil, so that the interval between two bayous is, of course, below the level of their banks, and the soil is generally covered with water and mud, aquatick plants, or large reeds, growing there in abundance to the height of from six to eight feet: it sometimes happens that the rains,

or the filtrated waters, collected in these intervals or basins, not finding any issue to flow off, form what are called *trembling prairies*, which are at all seasons impassable for men and domestick animals.

“In times of great drought, and in low tides, the ordinary prairies are passable, and some of them are frequented by the cattle of the neighbouring plantations, which prefer the grass they find there to that which grows on the banks of the river, on account of the saline particles deposited among the former, by the waters of the lakes overflowing into the bayous. Such is nearly the structure of those basins or prairies, which are very extensive in Louisiana, and what we have observed of those which are immediately connected with our subject, is applicable, more or less, to all the others in the country. From the high-lands of the Floridas, where the first hills begin, all the rest, as far as the sea, is alluvion land, gained from the water by the deposits from streams, particularly the Mississippi. This space is crossed in different directions by strips of high-land, between which there is invariably a river or bayou, more or less subject to periodical swells or tides; the surface of these waters is usually but little below the soil contiguous to their banks, and always higher than that, which is at a certain distance. In a word, the land in Lower Louisiana slopes in the inverse direction of the soil of other countries, being most elevated on the sides of the rivers, and sinking as it recedes from them. The Mississippi swells annually and periodically at New-Orleans fourteen or fifteen feet, and is then from three to four feet above the level of its banks. To contain its waters within its bed, dikes or ramparts, called in Louisiana *levées*, have been raised on its banks, from the high-lands towards its mouth, a little above the level of the highest swells; without which precaution the lands would be entirely overflowed from four to five months in the year. When, from accident, or negligence in keeping up these dikes, the river breaks through them, the rupture, called in this country a *crevasse*, occasions an extensive inundation, which lays the adjacent cypress swamps under ten, and the prairies under twelve feet water. Such accidents, unfortunately too common, usually destroy at once the crops of ten, and sometimes of twenty plantations. It is hoped that the frequent recurrence of the evil, owing to a defective system of police for the levées, will determine the legislature to take effectual

measures to prevent such disasters, by ceasing to confide to the respective landholders a care so important to the whole country as that of the levées, and imposing a tax on the lands where they run, for the purpose of keeping them always in repair."

The first disembarkation was composed of the light brigade, amounting to about 2000 men, under the command of Colonel Thornton; it reached the Mississippi about ten o'clock on the morning of the 23d, and were first discovered by a reconnoitring party, of whom the author was one, about 11 o'clock, and information was immediately sent to the commander-in-chief. General Jackson, at half past one, received the intelligence, and with the utmost promptitude, resolved on meeting them and making an immediate attack. Orders were dispatched to Generals Coffee and Carroll, who were encamped four miles above the city, to march down. Several volunteer companies of New-Orleans were ordered down, and all these troops set out with the utmost enthusiasm and alacrity. The schooner *Carolina* was moored in the stream opposite the British camp; they looked at this vessel without suspecting her to be armed. It was near dark before the troops could reach the plantation, where the British were encamped. The fire commenced from the schooner, which took them by surprise, they received it ten minutes before attempting any return, and lost near a hundred men killed and wounded. After a vain attempt with muskets, rockets, &c. to drive the schooner away, they were obliged to evacuate their camp. The engagement with the troops now began, and lasted through the whole evening; the second division of the English army came up in the course of it. Many proofs of skill and bravery were shewn in the course of this night action; a volunteer company of riflemen, commanded by Captain Beale, had penetrated into the heart of the camp without a bayonet; they made many prisoners; but by mistaking a corps of the enemy, about 150, of the 85th regiment, for their own troops, they lost some prisoners in turn. Of the manner in which they fought, an idea may be gathered from General Keane's report, who says, that the 85th "found itself surrounded by a superior number of the enemy:" this volunteer company contained 62 men. "A more extraordinary conflict," the same report says, "has perhaps never occurred; absolutely hand

to hand, officers and men." The enemy, who had advanced to meet our troops at half past nine, fell back to their camp, and the darkness of the night prevented General Jackson from following up the advantage he had gained. The English official report acknowledges a loss of three hundred and five, killed, wounded, and prisoners; our loss under the same heads was two hundred and thirteen. Among the officers killed, who was greatly regretted by the army, was Colonel Lauderdale, of General Coffee's brigade. The forces engaged amounted on our side, to less than two thousand effective men, and they were composed of troops of every description, principally volunteers and militia, very few of whom had ever seen an engagement; this body of men attacked veteran troops, flushed with the confidence of previous victories, and a belief in their own invincibility. The force of the enemy consisted of 2080 men of the light brigade, and the 2d division, which came up in the early part of the action, amounted to 2900 more. The author estimates their whole force in the combat at 4500 men. He attributes, and we think justly, great importance to this first engagement; that it checked the confidence of the enemy, and made them hesitate at advancing till their whole force was brought up. Had they pushed on immediately, their chance of reaching the city would have been much greater; the reinforcements had not arrived; the city was uncovered; all our forces at that time did not exceed five thousand men, mostly militia, who could not be expected to meet regular troops with the bayonet, a weapon with which most of them indeed were without. In the morning, the combatants were found drawn up about three hundred yards from each other. At eight o'clock, the British troops broke up and returned to their encampment. General Jackson had, at 4 o'clock in the morning, ordered the operations to be commenced for fortifying the canal of Rodriguez; and it was in attempting to storm these lines on the 8th of January, that they received their memorable and destructive defeat.

On the 28th, the enemy moved forward, and with such superiority of force, that our troops were obliged to fall back within the lines, which had been commenced on the Rodriguez canal. The Louisiana sloop of war anchored abreast of these lines every day, and ascended the river in the night; her fire, which swept the ground in front, was a severe annoyance. From this period till the final attack, the

time was employed on our side by finishing the lines of defence, one extremity of which rested on the Mississippi, the other on an impassable swamp, and were about a mile in length. There were eight batteries established, mounting in all twelve guns of different calibre, and one howitzer. The enemy were occupied in bringing up their troops and artillery, and establishing batteries. After these were completed, they kept up a heavy fire, and on different occasions, threw an immense quantity of Congreve rockets, at the same time displaying their columns, and making demonstrations of an assault, if the fire of the artillery and the rockets, should produce an effect upon our troops. The writer thus speaks of this weapon on the 28th of December. "During the whole day, the enemy incessantly threw Congreve rockets, which wounded some of our men. By one of these, Major Carmich, of the marines, had his horse killed, and was wounded in the hand. The British had great expectation, from the effect of this weapon, against an enemy who had never seen it before. They hoped that its very noise would strike terror into us; but we soon grew accustomed to it, and thought it little formidable; for in the whole course of the campaign, the rockets only wounded ten men, and blew up two caissons. That weapon must doubtless be effectual to throw amongst squadrons of cavalry to frighten horses, or to set fire to houses; but from the impossibility of directing it with any certainty, it will ever be a very precarious weapon to use against troops drawn up in line of battle, or behind ramparts."

On the 7th of January, from the movements observed in the British camp, a speedy attack was anticipated. This was made early on the 8th, and perhaps a greater disparity of loss never occurred; that of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, is fairly estimated at 3000 men; the killed and wounded on our side at thirteen. The enemy was more successful on the right bank, where the fortified lines were in a very incomplete state. The troops, consisting principally of Kentucky militia, broke and fled in confusion. It may be observed, in excuse for them, that their position was a bad one, drawn up on the edge of a ditch, without other defence, their right was turned, their number did not exceed five hundred, not more than half of these were armed, that they had been near twenty-four hours without food, and had marched, previous to the action, five miles, a part

of the distance knee deep in mud. Under these circumstances, their rout, even though it was a disorderly flight, cannot be considered extraordinary. Had the enemy crossed over a large division of their army to the right bank, they would in all probability, have reached the bank opposite New-Orleans, and the fate of the campaign might have been different. If a contrary course was taken by the opinion of Admiral Cochrane, as the author says, it has been suggested was the case; and he added this calamity to the disgrace he had already entailed upon his country, by his mode of carrying on the war in the Chesapeake and the Southern states, we should think a suitable reward might occasion his government some difficulty. The troops from the right bank were recrossed during the truce, which was asked for by General Lambert, for the purpose of burying the dead. This most desirable event was, perhaps, owing in part, to the tone assumed by General Jackson, in making the condition, that the suspension of arms should not extend to the right bank, and that no reinforcements should be sent over from either side.

“A little before daybreak, our out-post came in without noise, having perceived the enemy moving forward in great force.

“At last the dawn of day discovered to us the enemy occupying two-thirds of the space between the wood and the Mississippi. Immediately a Congreve rocket went off from the skirt of the wood, in the direction of the river. This was the signal for the attack. At the same instant, the twelve-pounder of battery No. 6, whose gunners had perceived the enemy's movement, discharged a shot. On this all his troops gave three cheers, formed in close column of about sixty men in front, in very good order, and advanced nearly in the direction of battery No. 7, the men shouldering their muskets, and all carrying fascines, and some with ladders. A cloud of rockets preceded them, and continued to fall in showers during the whole attack. Batteries Nos. 6, 7 and 8, now opened an incessant fire on the column, which continued to advance in pretty good order, until, in a few minutes, the musketry of the troops of Tennessee and Kentucky, joining their fire with that of the artillery, began to make an impression on it, which soon threw it into confusion. It was at that moment, that was heard that constant

rolling fire, whose tremendous noise resembled rattling peals of thunder. For some time the British officers succeeded in animating the courage of their troops, and making them advance, obliqueing to the left, to avoid the fire of battery No. 7, from which every discharge opened the column, and mowed down whole files, which were almost instantaneously replaced by new troops coming up close after the first: but these also shared the same fate, until at last, after twenty-five minutes continual firing, through which a few platoons advanced to the edge of the ditch, the column entirely broke, and part of the troops dispersed, and ran to take shelter among the bushes on the right. The rest retired to the ditch where they had been when first perceived, four hundred yards from our lines.

“There the officers with some difficulty rallied their troops, and again drew them up for a second attack, the soldiers having laid down their knapsacks at the edge of the ditch, that they might be less incumbered.

“And now, for the second time, the column, recruited with the troops that formed the rear, advanced. Again it was received with the same rolling fire of musketry and artillery, till, having advanced without much order very near our lines, it at last broke again, and retired in the utmost confusion. In vain did the officers now endeavour, as before, to revive the courage of their men; to no purpose did they strike them with the flat of their swords, to force them to advance: they were insensible to every thing but danger, and saw nothing but death which had struck so many of their comrades.

“The attack on our lines had hardly begun, when the British commander-in-chief, the honourable Sir Edward Packenham, fell a victim to his own intrepidity, while endeavouring to animate his troops with ardour for the assault. Soon after his fall, two other generals, Keane and Gibbs, were carried off the field of battle, dangerously wounded. A great number of officers of rank had fallen: the ground over which the column had marched, was strewed with the dead and the wounded. Such slaughter on their side, with no loss on ours, spread consternation through their ranks, as they were now convinced of the impossibility of carrying our lines, and saw that even to advance was certain death. In a word, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of some officers to make the troops form a third time, they would not

advance, and all that could be obtained from them, was to draw them up in the ditch, where they passed the rest of the day.

“Some of the enemy’s troops had advanced into the wood towards the extremity of our line, to make a false attack, or to ascertain whether a real one were practicable. These the troops under General Coffee no sooner perceived, than they opened on them a brisk fire with their rifles, which quickly made them retire. The greater part of those who, on the column’s being repulsed, had taken shelter in the thickets, only escaped our batteries to be killed by our musketry. During the whole hour that the attack lasted, our fire did not slacken for a single moment; and it seemed as though the artillery and musketry vied with each other in vivacity.

“When the column first advanced to the attack, the troops partly moved forward along the skirt of the wood, which in that part forms a curve, and were by that means covered, till they came within two hundred yards of our lines. After the attack on our left had commenced, the enemy made a column advance on the right by the road, and between the river and the levée. This column precipitately pushing forward, drove in our out-posts, following them so closely that it came up to the unfinished redoubt, before we could fire on it more than two discharges of our cannon. A part of the column leaped into the ditch, and got into the redoubt through the embrasures, and over the parapet, overpowering with their numbers the few men they found there: others advancing along the brink of the river, killed the soldiers of the 7th, who bravely defended their post at the point of the bayonet, against a number much superior, and continually increasing.

“To get into the redoubt was not a very arduous achievement: the difficulty was to maintain possession of it, and clear the breastwork of the intrenchment in the rear of the redoubt, which still remained to be attacked. Already several British officers, though wounded, were bravely advancing to encourage their men by their example.

“Colonel René, followed by two other officers of high rank, had begun to mount the breastwork, when the gallant volunteer riflemen under Captain Beale, who defended the head of the line, made them all find their graves in that redoubt which they had mastered with so much gallantry.



Meanwhile, Captain Humphreys' battery No. 1, Lieutenant Norris's No. 2, and the 7th regiment, which was the only one within musket-shot, kept up a tremendous fire on that column, which, like that on the left, was obliged to fall back in disorder, leaving the road, the levée, and the brink of the river, strewed with its dead and wounded.

"The enemy had opened the fire of the battery which he erected on the road on the 28th of December, as also of that erected on the 1st of January, behind the demolished buildings of Chalmette's plantation. The fire was at first very brisk, and was principally directed against Macarty's house, in hopes that the General and his staff might still be there: but to the enemy's disappointment, the General and all the officers had repaired to their post on the lines, long before daybreak. The only mischief done by that prodigious expense of balls and shells, was that Major Chotard, assistant Adjutant-General, received a contusion in his shoulder, and four or five pillars of the house were knocked down. Our batteries, Nos. 2, 3, and 4, principally directed their fire against those of the enemy, and dismounted several of the guns erected near Chalmette's buildings. Battery No. 1, after having poured a shower of grape-shot on the enemy's troops as they retreated, turned its fire against his battery which was opposite to it, and in less than two hours, forced the men to evacuate it. The marine battery on the right bank also fired on the enemy's column, as it advanced along the brink of the river, until the troops which landed on the right bank, pushed forward, and obliged the seamen who served it, to attend to their own defence.

"By half after eight in the morning, the fire of the musketry had ceased. The whole plain on the left, as also the side of the river, from the road to the edge of the water, was covered with the British soldiers who had fallen. About four hundred wounded prisoners were taken, and at least double that number of wounded men escaped into the British camp; and, what might perhaps appear incredible, were there not many thousands ready to attest the fact, is that a space of ground, extending from the ditch of our lines to that on which the enemy drew up his troops, two hundred and fifty yards in length, by about two hundred in breadth, was literally covered with men, either dead or severely wounded. About forty men were killed in the ditch, up to which they had advanced, and about the same number were

there made prisoners. The artillery of our lines kept up a fire against the enemy's batteries and troops until two o'clock in the afternoon. By the disposition of his troops, the enemy appeared to apprehend lest we should make a sortie, and attack him in his camp. The soldiers were drawn up in the ditches, in several parallel lines, and all those who had been slightly wounded, as soon as their wounds were dressed, were sent to join their corps, to make their number of effective men appear the greater, and show a firm countenance. The enemy's loss on the left bank, in the affair of the 8th of January, was immense, considering the short duration of the contest, the ground, and the respective number of the contending forces. According to the most probable accounts, it cannot have amounted to less than three thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The number of officers who fell that day is a much greater loss in proportion, owing to the necessity they were under of exposing themselves in the brunt of the battle, to encourage the men, and lead them on to the desperate assault. Our loss was comparatively inconsiderable, amounting to no more than thirteen in killed and wounded, on the left bank of the Mississippi.

"I deem it my indispensable duty to do justice to the intrepid bravery displayed in that attack by the British troops, especially by the officers. If any thing was wanting towards the attack's being conducted with judgment (speaking in a general and military point of view) it was, in my opinion, that they did not in the onset sacrifice the regularity of their movements to promptitude and celerity. The column marched on with the ordinary step, animating their courage with huzzas, instead of pushing on with fixed bayonets, *au pas de charge*. But it is well known that agility is not the distinctive quality of British troops. Their movement is in general sluggish and difficult, steady, but too precise, or at least more suitable for a pitched battle, or behind intrenchments, than for an assault. The British soldiers showed, on this occasion, that it is not without reason they are said to be deficient in agility. The enormous load they had to carry contributed indeed not a little to the difficulty of their movement. Besides their knapsacks, usually weighing nearly thirty pounds, and their musket, too heavy by at least one third, almost all of them had to carry a fascine from nine to ten inches in diameter, and four feet

long, made of sugar-canes perfectly ripe, and consequently very heavy, or a ladder from ten to twelve feet long.

“The duty of impartiality, incumbent on him who relates military events, obliges me to observe that the attack made on Jackson’s lines, by the British, on the 8th of January, must have been determined on by their Generals, without any consideration of the ground, the weather, or the difficulties to be surmounted, before they could storm lines, defended by militia indeed, but by militia whose valour they had already witnessed, with soldiers bending under the weight of their load, when a man, unincumbered and unopposed, would that day have found it difficult to mount our breastwork at leisure and with circumspection, so extremely slippery was the soil. Yet those officers had time and abundant opportunity, to observe the ground on which the troops were to act. Since their arrival on the banks of the Mississippi, they had sufficiently seen the effects of rainy weather, to form a just idea of the difficulty their troops must have experienced, in climbing up our intrenchments, even had the column been suffered to advance, without opposition, as far as the ditch. But they were blinded by their pride. The vain presumption of their superiority, and their belief that the raw militia of Kentucky and Tennessee, who now for the first time had issued from their fields, could not stand before the very sight of so numerous a body of regular troops advancing to attack them, made them disregard the admonition of sober reason. Had they at all calculated on the possibility of resistance, they would have adopted a different plan of attack, which, however, I am far from thinking would have been ultimately successful.

“It has been repeated, that division prevailed in a council of war, and that Admiral Cochrane, combating the opinion of General Packenham, who, with more judgment, was for making the main attack on the right bank, boasted that he would undertake to storm our lines with two thousand sailors, armed only with swords and pistols. I know not how far this report may deserve credit, but if the British commander-in-chief was so unmindful of what he owed his country, who had committed to his prudence the lives and honour of several thousands of her soldiers, as to yield to the ill-judged and rash advice of the Admiral, his memory will be loaded with the heavy charge of having sacrificed

reason in a moment of irritation, though he atoned with his life for having acted contrary to his own judgment."

The author goes on to state an act of humanity in our men, who went out of the lines to bring in the wounded; and that they were fired upon by the enemy while thus employed, and this when their object must have been perfectly clear; he acquits General Lambert and the superiour officers of sanctioning this act, but blames those who were in immediate command. This "atrocitv," it may be hoped, for the honour of human nature, was in some way owing to mistake.

While the main scene of operations was near New-Orleans, an attempt was made on fort St. Philip, situated about forty miles from the mouth of the river, the garrison of which consisted of 366 men. Two bomb vessels, a sloop of war, a gun-brig, and schooner made the attack—the bombardment continued from the 9th to the 18th, in the course of which they threw more than a thousand shells and carcasses, expending upwards of seventy tons of shells, twenty thousand pounds of powder, besides small shells, and round and grape shot from their boats; the result was the killing two, and wounding seven men, when the expedition was withdrawn by the Admiral. All the buildings of the fort were almost in ruins, and the ground for half a mile round, was literally ploughed up in every direction.

The British forces evacuated their camp on the 19th, but General Jackson was unable to cause them much annoyance in their retreat, being destitute of boats. General Lambert left 80 wounded, among them three officers, whom he could not remove, and recommended them to the humanity of General Jackson, who, in a personal visit, assured them they should receive every succour and alleviation in his power. The English army proceeded to their old station, previous to their final departure from the coast. They laid siege to fort Bowyer, commanded by Colonel Lawrence, with a small garrison, who successfully resisted a previous attack, as before related. The British forces which could now be brought against him amounted to 8000 men, and as many of them were occupied in the siege as could be employed advantageously; when the approaches had advanced within thirty yards of the works, he accepted conditions of surrender; wisely avoiding a wanton waste of life, since resistance to such an overwhelming force, in fortifications

which were in a bad state, would have been inexcusable rashness.

Thus terminated an expedition, undertaken with the most extensive preparations, the most ample means, and a veteran army of chosen troops. The confidence of success was so strong, not only in the forces engaged in it, but in the Ministers who sanctioned it, that its object was openly spoken of; its *restoration* mentioned by the English negotiators at Ghent, as one of the consequences of the peace they had signed; the possibility of failure never occurred. The disappointment, particularly among those who were to share the plunder, may be imagined; in the whole history of expeditions, few can be found that experienced greater disasters. *We* have derived immense advantages from it, not only in reputation to the brave population who so ably defended themselves, but in shewing the weak points, and those which an enemy would select for their operations. Such is the nature of the country, the ground which will admit of the passage of an army is so narrowed by swamps, that the different passes to the city may be all rendered secure, and a certain number of gun-boats and block-ships may be so stationed, as to command the river and the lakes. If, therefore, the government does its duty, that district is safe against any future attempt at invasion.

On the 21st, the militia and volunteers left the lines and returned to New-Orleans. General Jackson had previously requested the Bishop to sing a *Te Deum*. This ceremony took place on the 23d. The address of the Bishop, and the answer of the General, are models of sentiment and elegance. The fete prepared, was contrived with simplicity and taste; and the day must have passed off with the most noble, joyous, and heart-felt emotions. The following description will give an idea of it.

“The 23d of January having been appointed as a day of Thanksgiving, for the interposition of Providence, on which *Te Deum* was to be sung, every preparation was made to render the festival worthy the occasion. A temporary triumphal arch was erected in the middle of the grand square, opposite the principal entrance of the cathedral. The different uniform companies of Plauché’s battalion lined both sides of the way, from the entrance of the square towards the river, to the church. The balconies and windows of

the city hall, the parsonage house, and all the adjacent buildings, were filled with spectators. The whole square, and the streets leading to it, were thronged with people. The triumphal arch was supported by six columns, amongst those on the right was a young lady representing Justice, and on the left another representing Liberty. Under the arch were two young children, each on a pedestal, holding a crown of laurel. From the arch, in the middle of the square to the church, at proper intervals, were ranged young ladies, representing the different states and territories composing the American union, all dressed in white, covered with transparent veils, and wearing a silver star on their foreheads. Each of these young ladies held in her right hand a flag, inscribed with the name of the state she represented, and in her left a basket trimmed with blue ribands, and full of flowers. Behind each was a shield suspended on a lance stuck in the ground, inscribed with the name of a state or territory. The intervals had been so calculated, that the shields, linked together with verdant festoons, occupied the distance from the triumphal arch to the church.

“General Jackson, accompanied by the officers of his staff, arrived at the entrance of the square, where he was requested to proceed to the church by the walk prepared for him. As he passed under the arch, he received the crowns of laurel from the two children, and was congratulated in an address spoken by Miss Kerr, who represented the state of Louisiana. The General then proceeded to the church, amidst the salutations of the young ladies representing the different states, who strewed his passage with flowers. At the entrance of the church he was received by the abbé Dubourg, who addressed him in a speech suitable to the occasion, and conducted him to a seat prepared for him near the altar. Te Deum was chaunted with impressive solemnity, and soon after a guard of honour attended the General to his quarters, and in the evening the town, with its suburbs, was splendidly illuminated.

“Thus, in the space of a little less than one month, was terminated a campaign, ever memorable in the annals of America. On the 23d of December the enemy succeeded so far as to take a position on the Mississippi, and on the 19th of January he had already disappeared, leaving behind him the dead bodies of some thousands of private soldiers, and of many officers of distinction, and carrying with him

the shame of having miscarried in an undertaking so easy to accomplish, as he at first believed ; but, as he was taught by thirty day's experience, really too arduous to be attempted with any prospect of success.

“ The British troops found that, notwithstanding the appalling renown which they thought had preceded their expedition to Louisiana, and the striking effect they expected would be produced by the very title of *heroes of Wellington*, which several regiments had vauntingly assumed, they could make no impression, even with a great superiority of numbers, on undisciplined militia, not one-fourth of whom had ever before seen a camp, or had any idea of the art of war. The whole success, indeed, of this boasted expedition, was the occupation of a tongue of land, beyond which the British army never durst advance, and which it left drenched with its bravest blood.”

Every step of this short campaign, discovers the superior talents of General Jackson. The preservation of New-Orleans from the horrors that would have followed its capture, the saving to the country of merchandize, estimated at ten millions in value, which would have been plundered ; and more than all, the glorious reputation that was acquired by the citizens who defended it, may be all ascribed to his energy and skill. It would be difficult to find a situation more hopeless, and where an ordinary mind would have given way more readily without resistance, and, perhaps, have escaped without censure. Almost without troops, arms, or ammunition, without fortifications, with a mixt population, composed of all nations and colours ; thwarted by the State government, and apparently abandoned by that of the nation ; menaced with an overwhelming force of troops, flushed with victory, eager for conquest, and filled with confidence, it required a powerful mind not to be discouraged by this combination of circumstances. There were excellent materials to work with, as the events shewed, yet it required great energy and skill to use them, so as to inspire confidence and enthusiasm. This was done by this able General, in an eminent degree ; and to this may be attributed the defeat of the enemy, and the safety of Louisiana. Among the most brilliant events which have occurred in the wars of the last twenty years, there are very few which can vie in importance with the service that was rendered by this

Commander, to the United States. He received the thanks of many different states in the union, and of Congress, and some more substantial, though not adequate rewards.

This brings us to remark on a measure of great wisdom and energy, and involving a responsibility, magnanimously assumed by General Jackson; which furnished a mean, and indeed ludicrous instance, of a very narrow party spirit. The State of Louisiana passed votes of thanks, to several of the different officers concerned in the defence, and omitted General Jackson! The reason for this omission was, that while they were wrangling and delaying to suspend the *habeas corpus* in a moment of the most imperious necessity; the General, to save the country, proclaimed martial law. The cases are indeed few which can justify this measure; but if ever one existed where every motive of expediency and duty urged it, this was one. Consider the situation of New-Orleans, the nature of the population, the secret correspondence which the enemy might so easily, and which it is impossible to suppose him so negligent as not to have possessed; the plausible shapes, even, that treachery or cowardice might have taken, and then say that this measure was not one of urgent necessity. No citizen of a free country, can be so ignorant of the importance of the *habeas corpus* right, which is the foundation of all liberty, as not to regard it with the highest reverence. No enlightened politician can fail to appreciate the services rendered by those unyielding patriots, who have encountered all the frowns and persecution of power in different countries, to preserve this precious privilege to their country against the encroachments of despotism. Yet what sort of comparison is there between virtue of this kind, and the cavilling jealousy, which refuses a momentary delegation of power, in a particular district, filled with strangers, and menaced with instant invasion? In this case there were only two alternatives; in a very few days these high-minded patriots might serve their writ of *habeas corpus* on an insolent foe, domineering over the ruins of their country; or, on his being put to flight, the General would surrender the power conferred upon him, under the heaviest responsibilities. In consequence of the omission of thanks by the legislature, some of the citizens of New-Orleans presented an address to the General; the answer to which we extract, as we think it is less known than some of the other addresses which are contained in this ap-



pendix, and because it appears to be an unanswerable justification of his conduct. It is indeed no small part of the gratification attending these events at New-Orleans, that if a very high degree of military talent was discovered, there were also men who could wield the pen as well as the sword. There are several of these papers which cannot be surpassed in eloquence and style.

*General Jackson's Answer.*

“ FELLOW SOLDIERS,

“ Although born and bred in a land of freedom, popular favour has always been with me a secondary object. My first wish, in political life, has been to be useful to my country. Yet, I am not insensible to the good opinion of my fellow-citizens; I would do much to obtain it; but I cannot, for this purpose, sacrifice my own conscience, or what I conceive to be the interests of my country.

“ These principles have prepared me to receive, with just satisfaction, the address you have presented. The first wish of my heart, the safety of your country, has been accomplished; and it affords me the greatest happiness to know that the means taken to secure this object, have met the approbation of those who have had the best opportunities of judging of their propriety, and who, from their various relations, might be supposed the most ready to censure any which had been improperly resorted to. The distinction you draw, gentlemen, between those who only declaim about civil rights, and those who fight to maintain them, shows how just and practical a knowledge you have of the true principles of liberty—without such knowledge all theory is useless or mischievous.

“ Whenever the invaluable rights which we enjoy under our happy constitution are threatened by invasion, privileges the most dear, and which, in ordinary times, ought to be regarded as the most sacred, may be required to be infringed for their security. At such a crisis, we have only to determine whether we will suspend, for a time, the exercise of the latter, that we may secure the permanent enjoyment of the former. Is it wise, in such a moment, to sacrifice the spirit of the laws to the letter, and by adhering too strictly to the letter, lose the *substance* for ever, in order that we may, for an instant, preserve the *shadow*? It is not to be imagined, that the express provisions of any written law can

fully embrace emergencies, which suppose and occasion the suspension of all law, but the highest and the last, that of self-preservation. No right is more precious to a freeman than that of suffrage ; but had your election taken place on the 8th of January, would your declaimers have advised you to abandon the defence of your country, in order to exercise this inestimable privilege at the polls ? Is it to be supposed that your General, if he regarded the important trust committed to his charge, would have permitted you to preserve the constitution, by an act which would have involved constitution, country and honour in one undistinguished ruin ?

“ What is more justly important than personal liberty ? yet how can the civil enjoyment of this privilege be made to consist with the order, subordination and discipline of a camp ? Let the sentinel be removed by *subpœna* from his post, let writs of *habeas corpus* carry away the officers from the lines, and the enemy may conquer your country, by only employing lawyers to defend your constitution.

“ Private property is held sacred in all good governments, and particularly in our own, yet, shall the fear of invading it prevent a General from marching his army over a corn-field, or burning a house which protects the enemy ?

“ These, and a thousand other instances might be cited to show, that laws must sometimes be silent when necessity speaks. The only question with the friend of his country will be, have these laws been made to be silent wantonly and unnecessarily ? If necessity dictated the measure, if a resort to it was important for the preservation of those rights which we esteem so dear, and in defence of which we had so willingly taken up arms, surely it would not have been becoming in the commander-in-chief to have shrunk from the responsibility which it involved. He did not shrink from it. In declaring martial law, his object, and his only object, was to embody the whole resources of the country, for its defence. That law, while it existed, necessarily suspended all rights and privileges inconsistent with its provisions. It is matter of surprise, that they who boast themselves the champions of those rights and privileges should not, when they were first put in danger by the proclamation of martial law, have manifested that lively sensibility, of which they have since made so ostentatious a display. So far, however, was this from being the case, that this measure not only met, then, the open support of those who, when their

country was invaded, thought resistance a virtue, and the silent approbation of *all* ; but even received the particular recommendation and encouragement of many, who now inveigh the most bitterly against it. It was not until a victory, secured by that very measure, had lessened the danger which occasioned the resort to it, that the present *feeling guardians of our rights* discovered that the commanding General ought to have suffered his posts to be abandoned, through the interference of a foreign agent—his ranks to be thinned by desertion, and his whole army to be broken to pieces by mutiny ; while yet a powerful force of the enemy remained on our coast, and within a few hours sail of your city.

“I thought and acted differently. It was not until I discovered that the civil power stood no longer in need of the military for its support, that I restored to it its usual functions ; and the restoration was not delayed a moment after that period had arrived.

“Under these circumstances, fellow-soldiers, your resolution to *let others declaim about privileges and constitutional rights*, will never draw upon you the charge of being indifferent to those inestimable blessings ; your attachment to them has been proved by a stronger title—that of having nobly fought to preserve them.—You, who have thus supported them against the open pretensions of a powerful enemy, will never, I trust, surrender them to the underhand machinations of men who stand aloof in the hour of peril, and who, when the danger is gone, claim to be the ‘*defenders of your constitution*.’

“An honourable peace has dissolved our military connexion ; and, in a few days, I shall quit a country endeared to me by the most pleasing recollections. Among the most prominent of these, gentlemen, are those I shall ever entertain of the distinguished bravery, the exact discipline, the ardent zeal, and the important services of our corps. The offered friendship of each individual composing it, I receive with pleasure, and with sincerity reciprocate. I shall always pride myself on a fraternity with such men, created in such a cause.

ANDREW JACKSON.”

We are pleased with this work of Major Latour ; the narrative of the military events is minute and interesting, and the appendix contains an invaluable collection of state

papers. Besides the general interest which the work possesses for the citizens of the United States at large, it is so peculiarly interesting to the inhabitants of the Southern section, that we presume a second edition will be wanted, and under this impression, we offer a few suggestions to the author. If the translation be carefully revised, some French idioms may be corrected. We should recommend too, the striking out several epithets that occur in the work, in speaking of the enemy, such as "*atrocious, ferocious, savage,*" &c. &c. the calling rockets a "*diabolical invention.*" This is railing, and as a matter of taste, they should be expunged; but justice requires it also. They are probably not more ferocious and plundering than other nations; it will be better therefore to narrate the facts without qualifying epithets; these will be supplied when necessary, by the feelings of the reader. Besides, it is one of the great evils of war, that morality must give way before it; the end must often justify the means; and one side is frequently obliged to resort to the very conduct which had been execrated in the other. For instance, when the English made a disgraceful overture to the Baratarians, General Jackson, in a proclamation, spoke of these latter, considering them to be pirates, as a "*hellish banditti*;" yet the policy of self-preservation obliged him to employ them when their services were offered, and having rendered very essential ones, he recommended them for that pardon, which was afterwards granted by the President. In another case, he has given an account of a Tennessee rifleman, p. 128, who killed in ambush, three sentinels of the enemy; we do not much admire this exertion of Indian dexterity, the exercise of which, in cases like the present, is, we believe, proscribed by the usages of civilized warfare; but we refer to the candour of Major Latour, whether it does not lead to the justification of the action related, in the letter from *John Miller*, among the very curious intercepted letters, given in the appendix, and which he has stigmatized by printing the passage in Italicks?—A few corrections of this kind, and the work will be still more honourable to the author, and be a valuable addition to the library of the historian.